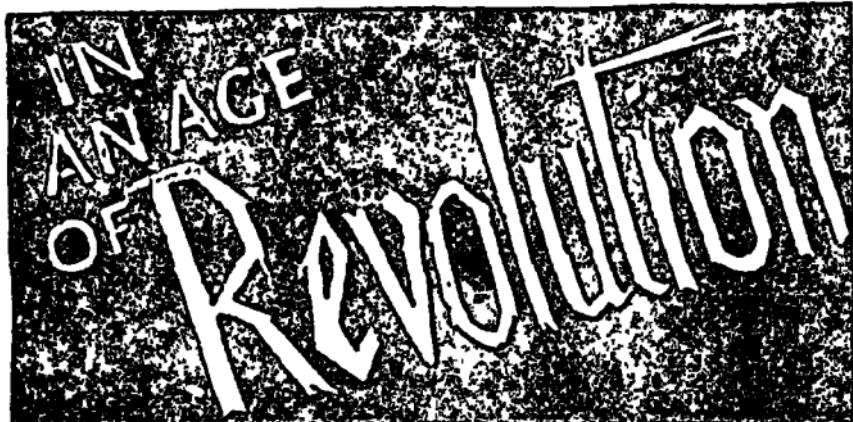


FREEDOM



BY Y.G.KRISHNAMURTI

INTRODUCTION

BY

Sachivottama

Sir C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

Dewan of Travancore

FOREWORD

BY

Dr. W. H. EDWARDS

Professor of Politics

New York State Teachers' College, U.S.A.

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FREEDOM
IN
AN AGE
OF
REVOLUTION

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DEDICATED
TO
SIR ALAGAPPA CHETTIAR
A MAN OF VISION

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I N T R O D U C T I O N



T is with genuine pleasure that I contribute this introduction to Mr. Y. G. Krishnamurti's book entitled "Freedom in an Age of Revolution".

Mr. Krishnamurti

belongs to that growing band of idealists, who unite wide study and meticulous research with unflinching enthusiasm. His previous book "Freedom my Destiny" combats the glorification of the State or even the Nation above the individual; and his thesis there was that the freedom of the country was necessary as a means to achieve individual liberation.

The object of the present brochure is to point out how the inevitable result of the Second World War has been very strongly to emphasise the contradictions of the present world society.

In the author's own words " Democracies have been forced to surrender their inheritance as the price of some strategic gain ". Mr. Krishnamurti carefully analyses what he describes as the malaise of Democracy, which according to him, is lacking in social content. He points out its toleration of race prejudice and indicts it as having failed to produce the creative spirit. Liberty, he asserts, is consistent only with a control of the economic process and above all an acknowledgment of human personality and the need for comprehensive emancipation. He criticises Rousseau's philosophy and aligns himself with Mahatma Gandhi in a fight against the 'cult of power'. Ahimsa, in the words of the author, is the only possible concept of life. The overcoming of nationalism and the building of a confederation of States are, in his view humanity's chief desideratum, and in enforcing these contentions, Mr. Krishnamurti calls in aid, writers as various as Locke and Leibnitz. He quotes, with approval, the former's argument that all men attain a state of perfect freedom so

as to order their actions and dispose of their possessions and persons as they think fit, within the bounds of the law of nature, without asking leave or depending upon the will of any other man.

The author is clear in his mind that what he terms 'Personalism', namely, the placing of the demands of life above doctrines, of persons above social organisation, affords the only tolerable solution, and he bases his demands on the postulate that the imperative need of our world is a living mysticism. He ranges himself with Schweitzer in emphasising that such mysticism is essential for a proper development of ethics. Coming to the conclusion that there is a danger that social techniques are now placing 'Democracies' and the 'Totalitarian States' in the same boat, and that societies are moving away from freedom towards conformity, a call is made for the renewal of belief in the truth and validity of personality. One may not always agree with every detail of his reasoning, but his conclusions are arresting and suggestive in

character and are born of a deep and passionate contemplation of the phenomena of the life around us during this period of transitions and crises.

C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

FORWARD



T is gratifying to me as an American, as it should be to lovers of liberty everywhere, that the political leaders and philosophical writers in India are vitally concerned over the foundations of freedom.

It is important to the people of the United States—a nation "conceived in liberty" that these leaders in Indian political thought are not merely interested in nationalism and national independence, which might or might not mean freedom for their people, but are equally if not more interested in achieving social, economic, and political reforms based upon fundamental human rights and values. It is greatly to be hoped that an independent India will join the liberty-loving peoples and democratic nations of the world in promoting peace and

freedom for all men in all lands, that India will play a prominent part in the United Nations in organizing a peaceful and prosperous world founded upon principles of universal justice, international understanding and good will.

Therefore I welcome the invitation to write this Foreword on freedom from an American's viewpoint, and I congratulate Mr. Krishnamurti for his keen interest in public affairs and his worthy contributions to the literature of political freedom which I am sure he hopes may help to guide the people of India in the paths of liberty.

A second world war has ended in the triumph of those nations devoted to freedom and the welfare of the common man over the fascist-dictator nations which brazenly declared their contempt for freedom and democracy and shouted that they would rule the world and reduce mankind to slavery. Despite this triumph it is as true as ever that the battle for freedom is never won, that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Indeed the fact that freedom was so nearly destroyed by the fascist nations should be

a warning that its principles should be clearly defined and the conditions for its survival clearly set forth. The ideals of liberty have been attacked in all ages and will probably continue to be attacked. Today these ideals are criticised or imperilled from various sources, a few of which are the following : (1) "The cynics of science" deny the scientific validity of the claim that all men are created equal and endowed with unalienable rights. (2) Many radical advocates of "economic democracy" and conservative advocates of "economic liberty" ridicule and minimize the importance of political freedom. (3) The popularity of the Russian communist dictatorship which abolishes political freedom and establishes the idea of economic security for the masses has led many to reject the ideals of liberty and democracy. (4) Finally freedom must be constantly redefined in terms of the rapidly changing conditions of modern technological society. The basic assumptions of freedom remain constant but the content must change with the transformation from a primitive

agricultural economy to a highly complex industrial and interdependent world.

Conflicting economic interests and ideologies are the main causes for the confusion over the foundations of freedom. On the one hand, the economic radicals and socialists in advocating "economic democracy" frequently denounce the "pluto-democracies", minimize the value of political freedom, and declare that political democracy is a farce without freedom from economic exploitation or indeed without socialism. They say that the increase of government controls will not destroy freedom but rather will make freedom "positive" and a reality.

On the other hand, the conservative laissez-faire economists who advocate a free enterprise system of capitalism charge that the increase of government controls will destroy all liberty; that economic freedom of enterprise is the "first freedom" and the basis of all other freedoms. They oppose in principle all social and economic legislation as "regimentation" and "bureaucracy".

Thus both sides in the debate between capitalism and socialism or social controls appeal for emotional support by saying that their programme is in the interest of freedom and democracy. And each side says that the other will be the ruination of democracy. Often it appears that these economic contestants are impatient with the democratic processes, and their extremists turn to some form of dictatorship, the socialist advocates turning to communist and the capitalist advocates to fascist dictatorship. Accordingly they show that they were not interested in political freedom or democracy but in economic self-interest or in class domination. And their appeals for "economic democracy" or "economic liberty" were the propaganda tricks of those who have no faith in democracy in fact. In any event democracy is a political conception and can be justified independently of economic arguments over capitalism and socialism.

This is not to say that the concentration of economic power or any other power in a few hands is not a threat to democracy and political

equality—at least to the extent that it perverts the democratic processes of free speech, free discussion, and majority rule. Both Jefferson and Lincoln condemned the aggregation of wealth in a few hands and the growth of corporate monopolies and demanded an equitable distribution of economic power as the basis for political equality.

But to say that modern democracies are plutocratic is to ignore recent events. The economic and political power of labour unions and the organization of numerically large groups of the population for political purposes in order to oppose corporate monopolies and conservative propertied interests have largely eliminated any threat of the perversion of democracy into plutocracy. Certainly conservative American business interests would be surprised to hear that America was a plutocracy under the Roosevelt New Deal which favoured labour and mass interests and which severely "regimented" the activities of corporations and business interests. Likewise British Tories would be

surprised to hear that the Labour Government of Britain with its programme of socialism and nationalization was a plutocracy. In short, the people in a democracy want wealth and economic power concentrated in a few individuals or corporations, that is what they can have ; but, if they wish to control corporate wealth and profits or to socialize industry for the benefit of labour and other mass interests, they can do that too. In a democracy the people get as good government as they deserved.

The principles of freedom and democracy are based upon fundamental values and assumptions which transcend the economic issues of the day. The modern principles of liberty and democracy are an outgrowth of the theories on individualism developed by the Natural Rights School of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the Utilitarian School of the last century. Many ideas of these two schools of political philosophy are discredited by modern students, but they none the less left a formidable heritage of freedom, and an enduring respect for individual rights and democratic institutions.

The first faith of freedom is in the essential goodness of men, that all men are moral beings and capable of reason. In this sense all men are created equal, should be equal before the law, should share equal political rights, and should have equal opportunities to develop their talents. From this primary assumption of equality, men are endowed with unalienable liberties. Without this equality, liberty becomes the right of the strong to devour the weak. This "tiger rights" conception of freedom is frequently held by privileged economic groups. The fundamental political rights are freedom of speech and religion, freedom to assemble and to discuss public questions. "Give me the right to think, to utter, and to argue freely above all liberties," said Milton. Jefferson asserted : "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility to every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

These basic assumptions of freedom are directly contrary to all forms of dictatorship because dictatorship assumes that the masses of the people are incompetent and corrupt, and that

an elite class in a one-party state must rule over them for their own good—the people cannot be trusted to govern themselves. If men are not capable of self-government, can we then, asked Jefferson, invent men in the form of angels to rule over us. I know of no dictators who looked like angels, and none who acted like angels. More often they acted like devils. Lincoln said : “No man is good enough to rule over another man. If he were good enough, he would not want to do it.” To abolish income from ownership may be a benevolent economic objective, but to accomplish the objective by creating a dictatorship is to create a greater evil than the one destroyed.

To maintain these fundamental political rights, governments are created deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Democracy is the necessary outcome of the principles of freedom—liberty and equality. Democracy means majority rule, and assumes universal suffrage—the right to vote as it is now recognized in modern democracies. Democracy

does not exist if the vast majority of the people does not have the right to vote. Nor does it exist if there is any distinction or discrimination in voting which gives privileges to individuals, classes, castes, communities, religions, or races. No property or literacy qualifications should be devised to deny the vote to the mass of the underprivileged. Indeed, it is this very lack of the right to vote which holds them in ignorance and poverty. On the other hand universal free education is essential for their prosperity, as it is the great solvent of class and caste privileges, religious and race hatred, and economic and social discrimination. Jefferson said that those who except to be ignorant and free expect something that never has been and something that never will be. The best way to relieve the oppression of underprivileged castes and classes is not by charity but by universal education and universal suffrage. Education should not only be free and universal but it should train all citizens in the principles of freedom to the end that they shall treasure political liberty and democracy above all

other social ideals and institutions ; and to the end that they shall realize that the citizen who is indifferent to his political obligations and opportunities is an undesirable citizen. Modern democracies are more threatened to-day by the apathy of their citizens than by the privileges of their classes. This is the simple faith of free men in a free society. Democracy is the most difficult form of government, but is "the last best hope of earth".

W. H. EDWARDS

A U T H O R ' S N O T E



THE vast issues of our contemporary life depend upon our ability to establish a new harmony of ideas and interests. To escape from the contradictions and disintegration that the total war has forced upon mankind, we should lengthen our perspective and conduct discussions on the plane of value.

In the inter-war years there is the evolution of opinion and we must be philosophically unafraid to accept its essential challenge. Our eyes to-day are fixed on the enslaved and barbarized nations and whether they seek a true or fake glory depends on their ideological stand-point. However, ideologies run to seed quickly, and adjustments to a new climate of opinion is long and painful.

Fate has summoned India to flash a dazzling torch—the torch of a subtle, unhackneyed and creative freedom. By declaring that non-violence and the higher ranges of freedom are inseparable, she has become the international hope of these afflicted years.

At a time when India's vital message should dominate all parts of the atlas our politicians are betraying every tenet of Gandhi and slighting the values that nourish the people. They are bound within the eternal chain of evasions, incoherence and boring fanaticism. They are dancing pathetically on the razor-edge of linguistic nationalisms and communal dwarf states. They must know that a nation is not made by phrases, blue-prints, solid vote of a bloc and pursuit of iridescent bubbles but by disciplined thought and moral intent. It must be admitted that inspite of sickly reiteration of faith no leader is capable of sustained elevation of aspiration and no delegate can endure it.

It is the lack of vitality, uncommon freshness and time-sense that makes us suspicious of the labours of the framers of our constitution. In fact, a constitution can be drafted in two hours. There are so many models to imitate. What astonishes one is that our constitutional Pundits are giving us only puzzling egotisms and not a recovered treasure. The simple Gandhian test to any constitution is this. Does it integrate or bury the tools of violence? Its creative reach is reflected in its answer to this question.

This monograph declares that there is a racy strength. A patriotic intensity and a sense of destiny in the concept freedom. Under the shield of this invincible, progressive ideal the peoples of the world can march towards a newly ordered and peaceful civilization. Its inner radiance shines through the symbols offered by Gandhi. Through the

mounting disharmony of world politics, the faith of Gandhi—a federal, personalistic and non-violent order, is taking shape. The only hope of a free world is in a heroic change of heart and the Mahatma has given the instrument for this personalistic revolution.

I consider myself very fortunate in securing for this monograph an Introduction from Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, whose translucent mind and commanding integrity are shaping the current of our age.

I am grateful to Professor W. H. Edwards for the illuminating Foreword. I acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor S. Srikantha Sastri and to *Mimamsa Kesari* Professor K. Balasubramanya Sastri for their searching criticisms.

This monograph is dedicated to Sir Alagappa Chettiar, who encouraged me to throw a fresh light and bring new precisions on the problem of personality and freedom. My heartfelt thanks are due to Dr. B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu, the reputed economist and to Mr. B. S. Murti, whose advice and help command my delighted respect.

To my literary agent Mr. C. M. Manavalan, I am greatly obliged for his unfailing kindness and helpful suggestions.

My most cordial thanks are due to Mr. F. H. Rauleder, the eminent artist, for so superbly designing and printing this monograph.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF CHANGE



CIVILIZATION is man's voyage into the ideal, a movement towards truth, love and freedom. It is the ascent of man from primeval slime to creative acts. It is his liberation from slavery

to nature, society and ego.

The end of civilization is the perfection of human life. This perfection consists in the power of synthesis. By virtue of this secret man has vitalized and strengthened his speculative energies and practical wisdom.

At the heart of progress we see intuition perfecting reason, love perfecting power, experiment perfecting tradition and controls perfecting freedom. Throughout the vicissitudes of history

and the failings of men the growing importance of integral thought is felt. Progress summons up both the base and the ideal, the mechanical and the mystical and resolves their antinomy.

Hitherto, man has only aspired either to control nature or to control nations. But he has made no conscious attempt to control himself. To know the certitudes of life is a wearisome pilgrimage to the Absolute. Unfortunately, philosophical absolutisms have charged the individual's life with fanaticisms and not judgments. They have brought a cleavage between the search for knowledge and the quest for power.

If positive sciences have triumphed over values and regimentation over human essence, it is because philosophy lacks the strength and courage to participate in the given situation. However, relativism is an attempt to link up philosophy with the urgencies of the moment. It rejects the idea that sociological matters lie outside the pale of philosophy.

In a broad sense, the philosophy of change is relativistic. In fact, relativism and absolutism

are the dual meanings of the concept of change. The realists accept the former and the idealists the latter interpretation. As absolutism believes in an irreversible process, it has a limitation in dealing with human wills and their conflicts. Relativism deals with events, and with personalities who create the events. Its approach is creative, as it is guided by the facts of a situation and the need for revision. It also demands new powers to meet the new needs. History is change and change moves toward integral goals. Historical present is a series of beats of the emergent idea or trend. Historical future is these nervous beats congealing into a pattern.

To live by the light of history is to see life as an integral unit and to act in it with serene confidence. The growth of man is truncated when past is closed to him. For, there can be no illumined life without a conservation of values. Living becomes dreary without long perspectives. As history is destruction and renewal the long view along gives strength to man to endure the unendurable.

We must accept human history as a story of change. Ageing cultures and nations orient themselves by renewing their values. A culture is a procession of creative ideas, while a nation is a procession of historical memories.

According to Bergson, history is formed of the successive waves of vital impulse. Croce expressly says that this vital impulse is freedom. Hegel contends that history is the evolution of spirit. Berdyaev declares that there is no truth apart from man and no existence outside the perennial flux.

The constructive principle in history is a renewal of life in freedom. Then life is creative becoming and history continually spins out this evolutionary change. It is vital to note that the advent of controls has shaken the theory of freedom. It affects the whole structure of society. From now on there is no change apart from techniques.

It may be argued that a creative fusion of freedom and controls is inconceivable. It is time that such dogmatists put away their whips. One

cannot be blind to the facts that liberty is plastic and the future belongs to balanced liberties. A new harmony can be established between creativeness and controls if we accept the view that life is more than techniques and without techniques the maximal development of life is impossible.

Prof. A. N. Whitehead, the exemplary leader of thought, states the characteristics of life as "self-enjoyment, creative activity, aim". There is every evidence that a system of controls is a denial of all these three attributes. We cannot derive these characteristics from controls and they can only modify them. The social scientists argue that it is possible to fuse the basic stuff of life with the functions of controls. Then, we may anticipate the future of life as the enjoyment of emotion in patterned activity.

Freedom begins in revolt. When controls have done their best, the capacity for revolt remains. If ethics corrects the blindness of activity then revolt gives place to acceptance.

The movement of civilization is a movement toward balanced living. This depends on moral sensitiveness in the individual and the community. It is impossible to conceive ethical responsibility without a value-pattern. Amidst the environing chaos the values preserve the memory of civilization. They give to society what is taken from its traditions. The present reversal of progress, failure of civilized consciousness is born of the dissolution of values. Values alone shape the crude material of life into the images of truth and freedom. If freedom is a sign of civilized living, values make that feeling more tender and more universal.

Values and the Crisis in Civilization



THE age which marked the disjunction between values and existence has already passed. The present crisis in civilization has made axiology or the theory of values a congenial theme for philosophic speculation.

The world between the two wars was a world of uncivilization. It sought regeneration from without, and in that process lost its central values. It witnessed a progress in power and not a corresponding progress in morals. The revolution in the conditions of life led to objectivization, a denial of love, creativeness and depth. The rigid and inclusive control of the state hindered the growth of man in a positive

way. The theories of conditioned reflexes and mass culture destroyed the deepening and intensification of life. When man acquired the mentality of the robot he became unfree.

Both the slave-makers and the enslaved lost the impulse to humanity. In a thousand forms the instruments of propaganda and control tortured the modern mind. With the loss of the energy of thought fictitious values claimed their rule. Scepticism reinforced by violence swept everything before it. The western world made a valiant but futile effort to retain its traditional values. Scientific humanism was its dying gasp.

The renunciation of values is an advance in barbarization. To think out and will the ideals of progress a scale of values is necessary. To affirm the world and to renew life is to pay homage to values.

The muddle-headed positivists reject the idea of value judgments. They contend that value is another and misleading name for feeling. A value judgment is, therefore, a masked factual judgment.

The most acceptable definition of value is that it is the universal feature of the interconnection of things. Laird differentiates between values of election and appreciation, of existence and significance. The value realism propounded by Scheler and Hartmann has restored the lost ground to intuitionism. However, their theory of intuition as rational insight is still open to attack.

The basal discipline of social sciences is a recognition of values and not a sceptical outlook. The diverse styles of thought reduce the meaning of life and man to absurdity. This perception of inner conflict and a desire to achieve meaningful goals have given values a central position in the methodology of social sciences. When values are shattered man loses his bearings and his experience loses its richness. That is why, the social scientist urges that action should be grounded on a certain definition of the situation. Only these meaning-giving definitions can produce a process.

Man is not shrivelled up by the social forces and feels that life's treasures are all for him when values give direction to his endeavours. Mere data, tests and surveys cannot penetrate into social or political reality. A meaningful interpretation of a tension or trend is the work of values. These values arise out of the flux of a process and without them it is difficult for man to participate in the process. It should be noted that Rickett defends the view that history is a value science. In economic and political spheres too the good is preferred to the fact.

It is apparent that the value character of a movement is a pronounced feature of our epoch. Besides ethical values we are given aesthetic, political, economic and sociological values. Only those who are blinded by positivistic prejudices desire to be emancipated from value-judgments. Windelband repels their attack :

" Pragmatism is the outer court of the temple of truth, not its inner shrine."

The centrality of value notion has forced thinkers to redefine concepts. Specially in Europe,

values which are still intact should be lifted out of the debris of history. The pseudo-ideals have infected the minds of the people with inhibitions, shams and cynicism. A single view of the genuine ideal should be strengthened in them. Without a minimum of assumptions life-orientation is a delusion. They alone can create in man that tension, that glow of the spirit, that desire for ascent.

Philosophy may not yield increased control over nature but it can certainly develop evaluative conception of ideology. It can play a definite role in the growth of ideas and movements by giving an evaluative point of view. If man's advance is based on values, he acquires new disciplines and will shed his disastrous timidity and sterile cleverness. This demands a correspondence of the code for the drawing-room and the code for the workshop. To sign the peace pledge and to buy shares of an armaments firm, to preach non-violence and to call for steaks or chops, to talk of social conscience and to turn the

factory into a stinking hell is so much cant and humbug.

In the final analysis, we find that only values communicate the meaning of the historical process. As freedom is the golden thread of history, its problem cannot be divorced from the problem of values. Freedom is self-subsistent and valid, in all ages and for all peoples, because it is a value. The 'oughtness' of this value rips open new perspectives and new happiness.

All the agonies and ecstasies of mankind are summed up in that value—freedom. It represents a style of thought and also a way of life. Freedom can survive in a world of disciplines but civilization cannot survive without the healing touch of freedom. The planners should create a new order where freedom not only operates but also determines.

Today the concept freedom seems to have lost its vital freshness and, therefore, failed to illumine the problems of our age. Totalitarianism is one aspect of the revolt against the theory of majority rule. The pluto-democracies could

not sink lower than during the inter-war years, when they compelled men to be unfree. The strange alliance between conflicting ideologies did upset all judgments on contemporary history. This alliance did not clarify the creative aims of democracy but showed how dull and deficient its ideals were. By establishing the priority of politics, over morals, it flattered the tormentors of freedom.

The peculiar power of freedom resides in its universal framework. In the present democratic regimes which worship the state as the symbol of moral life the very substance of politics has whittled away. It is the lure of sovereignty that tempts the nation-state to skirt annihilation so closely. Its ideology is saturated with political and economic egoism which is opposed to the primeval and universal spirit. Only by accepting the spiritual challenge latent in world-view the pluto-democracies can avoid their emptiness and futility.

W O R L D - V I E W



HE glories and exaltations of the world view make the rhythm of life and the spirit of civilization. It has a sentimental flavour. It also runs into the arms of reason. The

purer the world-view, the finer its enchantment.

In this mass age, politics is power, and power is unethical. The passions and the elements are raw materials to power. They fan insurrections, unleash wars and stretch out their arms like pincers. The will-to-power is a total and contemptuous repudiation of world-view.

The supreme tragedy of the western man is due to this loss of world-view. Civilization, like nature, rises from the mounds of the dead and

renews itself. This recreative power is world-view.

The struggle for civilization is a struggle for the optimistic world-view. Without optimism the growth of man is stunted and he welcomes manacles. Optimism is a quality of the will which affirms life. In the volcano-bursts of history the west sinks low without world-view and it rises to the peak of its strength with world-view.

According to Dr. Schweitzer, world-view is a talisman and it must be rubbed up and made to work. The soul of Germany speaks through him and he speaks to mankind. He points out that only world-view can give us the ethical world-and-life affirmation.

Dr. Schweitzer maintains that life in all its manifestations should be recognised and raised to its highest value. This means the ethical perfecting of the individual and the community. A pessimistic outlook depreciates and not deepens this world-and-life affirmation.

He observes that the Buddhist thought upholds a depreciated will-to-live and, therefore, it is not equal to the tasks of life. In a sparkling defence of the will-to-life he writes :

“ Often the will-to-live is changed into an intoxication. Spring sunshine, trees in flower, passing clouds, fields of waving corn provoke it.”

What decides the fact of our existence is a will to raise life to a higher power. Every individual is a manifestation of the mysterious universal will. By showing reverence for all created life we can give our existence a meaning from within outwards. With balance and breadth of judgment he remarks :

“ Reverence for life means to be in the grasp of the infinite, inexplicable, forward-urging will in which all Being is grounded. It raises us above all knowledge of things and lets us become a tree which is safe against drought, because it is planted among running streams.”

An unshakeable world-and-life affirmation should lead man to a living ethic. This ethic must be grounded on thought and bring the individual into an understanding with reality. The ethic of personality should be in accord with the ethic of society. Ethics is not resignation but active perfecting of the individual and the community. It is universalising of devotion. Dr. Schweitzer prizes the living ethical feeling enshrined in Indian thought.

The imperative need of our world is a living mysticism, a mysticism of action. Schweitzer holds that every world-and-life view which is to satisfy thought is mysticism. He says :

“ Experience of becoming one with the Absolute, of existence within the world-spirit, of ascent into God, or whatever one may choose to call the process is not in itself ethical ; it is spiritual. Of this deep distinction Indian thought has become conscious. We Europeans have remained naive in matters of mysticism.”

We are driven to the paradoxical conclusion that ethics is born of mysticism and mysticism devours ethics.

Among the host of ethical thinkers it is only Dr. Schweitzer who has succeeded in giving a working philosophy. He has offered the devitalized and disillusioned west the meaning of life within the meaning of the world. His ethic of reverence for life exhorts all to be a man for men. If man has a little human nature to give the murder-machines, death-trains and slave-makers have no place on this planet.

It is in unpretentious sacrifice and devotion that values can acquire a deeper and more universal meaning. They can resolve the ethical conflicts between the society and the individual and achieve a higher unity. The pursuit of class truths, state idolatry and economic egoism is due to the tragedy of world-view. Its distortion has produced insecure civilizations.

Freedom begins where world-view operates. Without the creation of the cosmic spirit and temper throbbing fear and unfreedoms will be at the heart of human existence.

To accept world-view means to fight pseudo-ethics and crude ideals. It is to will civilization as ethical personalities. It is to renew the bonds between humanity and reality.

World-view is the convergent lens which brings the thousand different shades of opinions, to a single point. It gives man his share and nation its share and blends them into a new impulse which transcends their narrowness.

History shows that vital changes in civilization are related to the growth of human ideals. The loss of the ethical spirit has always been a symptom of social and political decay. The spiritual dynamic of civilization is drawn from the fount of values. The fusion of this dynamic social power with the scientific tradition is the pathway to the perfection of the human species. Then the future belongs to a synthesis of outlooks which divinizes the forces in the soul and directs them towards practical social activity. Then only moral values will emerge out of the blind flux of matter.

F E D E R A L I S M



EDERALISM and freedom make a noble cluster of concepts and their interpenetration foreshadows a future of ordered national energy. If one senses the intellectual climate he finds

that the ideologists and blue-printers are invoking the federal idea. In their somewhat airy approach they have assured a concordat between federalism and freedom.

Federalism *versus* Particularism is a convenient phrase, but a poor summing up. Federalism is a conception which transmutes the passion for freedom into the passion for humanity. Particularism harnesses the energies of men into a vast abstraction—the state. Federalism offers

the key to the present tangled situation of doubts, struggles and hates. Particularism makes savage flicks at 'federal illusions'.

After the first world war the dictators upbraided the federal ideology. They disdained the autonomy and cultural differentiation which federalism promises. Their propagandists blew the absolutist trumpets. They conjured up the image of a swift leaping power. They left the federal idea in a maimed condition.

Modern federalism is a distinct political method which guarantees the separate autonomous existence of the units while creating a new collective personality. The federal experiment is successful when autonomy is exercised in agreement with the larger unit and federal interference is exercised with due regard to states' interests.

The concept of regional statehood is a characteristic of American and Russian Federalisms. In a living federation there is a centralising tendency in the economic sphere. Without mutual good-will and the exclusion of hegemony

a federal state cannot work. Roughly common levels of economic and cultural developments among the units promote federal agreement. When the leading units respect the claims to equality of the weaker partners then the federal technique gains in prestige.

The present emotional hold of federalism is due to its emphasis on equality and consent and not on hierarchy and hegemony. The class justice and race prejudice practised in Soviet Russia and the United States offend the spirit of federalism. In Russia the citizens cannot directly propose candidates without the consent of the communist party and this is a deception of socialist realism. Therefore, a tepid federalism, which is a confutation of the rule of reason and human dignity, cannot become a political religion.

In a living federation the internal regimes should guarantee the choice of ends to its citizens. On this basis there can be a federation between units which have parliamentary monarchy and parliamentary republic. We may

conclude that a federal state should be grounded on a common political philosophy.

One of the key problems in modern political thought is whether the federal state should be single or multi-party state. A single party rule is not necessarily crippling if its structure and programme are the mould and measure of the ideals of progress. If federalism is linked up with democracy then it makes new demands on it. The present negative democracy should become positive.

That the federal preference is rational preference is an obsolescent attitude. In our age a rational solution is no solution. Reason is dead or mutilated. The patriotism of the modern is violent and uncritical. Millions are ready to make extravagant sacrifices for a myth. Those who die for a rational truth are not yet born.

Federalism as a rational doctrine is national, while federalism built on a myth is international. To say that the nation would willingly consent to sink into a unit is to go a little ahead of available evidence. If the edifice of international

order is reared on the triad of federalism, non-violence and personalism it can become a constructive force. Men will accept it by simple faith and not by full enlightenment.

There is no dualism between freedom and federalism. Federalism is a part of freedom. Only free nations can federate.

It is clearly impossible to burke the fact that national civilizations are a reality. There can be a political integration between them all if they recognise a set of political values. It demands a transition from power to ethics. Speculative minds like Otto von Gierke maintain that a pluralistic ordering of the state is credible. The next great hope of history is a political movement which seeks unity in plurality.

Pluralism assigns the true purpose to politics, prepares men for higher functions and saves the state mechanism from absolutist tendencies cloaked as theories. It strives to temper and reconcile politics with morality, authority with consent.

There is a general tendency to over-emphasize the economic aspect of the state and to be oblivious of the moral spirit. We have seen the inadequacy of political theories which deny the autonomy of moral activity. Pluralism gives rise to state-activity, morally glowed and performed. Pluralistic politics flowers in times which recognise the supreme value of personality.

P E R S O N A L I S M



PERSONALISM is a shining truth. The German and French thought has defined this concept afresh. It is also called the philosophy of Freedom, Vitalism, Spiritual Realism and Activism. Its area of influence is ever-spreading. In our epoch the religion of statism has many revered temples and men have begun to succumb to its lure. Personalism has now its chance to teach.

It accepts and ennobles equality. It recognises moral mandates in life and in the cosmic order. It is opposed to crudeness and banality in life and is confident that man will respond to new forms of beauty. It proclaims the

Revolution of the Spirit and the sand-barriers of authority cannot stop its encroaching waves.

In its philosophical level, personalism has a close affinity with pragmatism. It holds that reality cannot be imprisoned in concepts. As words are deceptive, they cannot encompass reality. In its religious level it reharmonizes man and nature. Without self-awareness the supreme values of life cannot be attained. The French savant, Ravaission, sums up its ethical volition in the phrase "to simplify one's self".

On the social plane personalism urges man to live by his responsible activity. It emphasises the contrast between the individual who is 'shut-in' and the person who is 'open'. Man as a person is ruled by the vision of his mind and seeks his own interests in freedom. Man as an individual dissolves himself in the social and economic collective. The person accepts a hierarchy of values and grows by progressive integration.

In its political aspect personalism urges that the state mechanism should not become stronger

than man. Man can evolve his life within the rhythm of nature if state is a living organism. A technical civilisation instead of creatively directing the movements of the masses has forced them to retrogress into an infantile state. In the words of Maritain, man has a super-existence; "he is a universe unto himself, a microcosm in which the whole great universe can be encompassed through knowledge." In the power-political state he is doomed to frustration. It cannot summon him to self-perfecting and integration.

Today man stands in the shadow of a crisis, a crisis of the spirit. The way out of it involves the acceptance of the truths of the spirit. The light which illuminates the shadows of a depersonalised and devitalised life is the gem-like light of personalism.

Hitherto, over the prostrate spirit of man the mechanisms of control have triumphed. Man can acquire an irresistible power by touching the fount of the spirit. The psychological devices are a cold douche for the lovers of personalism. The soul is boundless in space and time. It sustains

all forms of beauty, truth and civilized living. The personalist contends that the behaviouristic assumptions thwart the true ends of the self.

Personalism, by accepting life as a creative process and by interpreting evolution as interior development, takes on a new and scientific aspect. The personalist judges the social process from the point of view of supreme human values. He is opposed to the conversion of man into a thing. In his view, society is a part of personality. The depths of life should remain impenetrable to society. The personalistic revolution implies man living at the pitch of his self-hood. Naturally, it affirms the supreme value of personality in the social order. It sees only counterfeits and perversions in capitalist and totalitarian societies. If capitalism is concerned with economic man then totalitarianism annuls man in the working class. Personalistic socialism believes in economic justice without disregarding living relations.

Though the personalist faith is hidden under new names yet it has continued to trouble the

heart of ethical thinkers. The Socratic conviction is cosmic and personal. Augustine sees the springs of life and order in the spiritual convictions of the person. Descartes finds truth in the personal experience of thought. Ravaissón opposes mechanism as it denies variety, spontaneity and creation. He maintains that life is self-organization and personality is reality. Renouvier thinks that personal experience is the stuff of reality. In recent times Mounier, Maritain and Berdyæv have shown how personalism is prepared to meet the challenge of a changing world of thought. Both absolutism and positivism are now exploded ideas. The principle of uncertainty has given a reeling blow. In a world of uncertainties personalism shines out as a living philosophy.

Personalism places the demands of life above doctrines, of person above social organisation, of self-adaptation above uniformity. It has loved freedom, fulness of life and opportunity and has chastened them in its love. No one makes this clearer than Berdyæv :

" I can receive the supreme and final freedom from truth alone, but the truth cannot force or compel me; my acceptance of the truth presupposes my freedom, my free movement in it. Freedom is not only an aim but a path. Freedom has brought me to Christ, and I know no other path leading to him."

Personalism tells us plainly and convincingly that the problem of man is more urgent than the problem of fashioning a new society. When men fail to share the unity of emotions, the new social order becomes a pale name. The artistically appealing, politically intelligent and ethically profound hero-types are created when man becomes aware of his own immortality.

Our age is witnessing the tragic helplessness of the individual in a world of collective realities. Its materialism and determinism have led to the dissolution of human personality. State egoism dominates this new cult. It has inspired racial adventures and wild ambitions. Blueprinters crammed with the idea of planning as

progress are also shutting the gates of freedom and personalism upon mankind.

Personalism is a name not of a concept but of the philosophy of politics itself. This haunting, single word gathers into itself all the defeated hopes and the mounting courage of humanity.

The personalist accepts the view that man is a polarized being, who is at once base and noble, tumultuous and serene. Man is the offspring of the world process but his personality gives a new direction to it. By nature he is an individual and by spirit a personality. A personalist takes his stand in all things on universals. The individualist consents to anything but the cosmic values. In the personalist faith holds up its head. The individualist has an austere tongue and a stilled mind. The universal content of the personalist has a youthful and tantalizing charm. His dominant faith is world motive and not private ecstasy. He is therefore spared the pains of a divided heart. He also sees the secret of existence in integrality.

Personality is fusion, wholeness, freedom and exaltation of man. The unchanging element in it is not crushed under the threat of time. The personalist sees a hopeful meaning in the flux and reflux of events. He is neither a prey to vague fears nor a slave of sloth and greed. To him life is not ugly and dreary, a trivial struggle for a crust of bread. He sees beneath the layer of agonies new depths of meanings. He sees a lucid meaning in life without dissolving himself in the impersonal vital process.

The philosophy of personalism is a delicate and precious lace which can give a compelling charm to the ageing coquette—civilization. The muddle and chaos of our existence can be corrected not by reason but by the severe reproach of the spirit.

P L A N N I N G



THOUGH planning is a well worn subject yet thinkers have not emphasised the social philosophy behind it. The economic thought is closely related to a view of nature. Modern cos-

mology has abolished the mechanistic hypothesis, resolved substance into function and declared that the process is not limited by the spatio-temporal rhythm. Professor Collingwood regards cosmology as super history and every scientific discovery is a fact in history.

Locke develops the idea that social harmony might prevail in a state where the riches of society are unjustly distributed. He further argues that happiness cannot exist in a state where the riches of nature are monopolised. The law of nature should stand as "eternal rule to

all men". There is a correspondence between individual effort and happiness when all men have a free access to nature. His utopia is grounded on absolute freedom and co-equality :

"The state all [men are naturally in is a state of perfect freedom to order their actions and dispose of their possessions and persons as they think fit, within the bounds of the law of nature, without asking leave or depending upon the will of any other man. A state of equality, wherein all the power and jurisdiction is reciprocal no one having more than another, there being nothing more evident, than the creatures of the same species and rank promiscuously born to all the same advantages of nature, and the use of the same faculties, should also be equal one amongst another without subordination or subjection."

The problem whether the whole is continuous or discontinuous agitates the mind of

Leibnitz. Wholeness means insoluble ultimate elements. Particularism implies fixed boundaries. Leibnitz, with his rigid and austere mathematical criteria, presents a new vision of cosmology. He beautifully sums up the organising principle concealed in the order in nature and world. "The unity in diversity is nothing but concord."

Leibnitz contends that the wholeness of the universe consists of soul-units :

"Mere body has no real existence. It is an abstraction. The world is active, living through and through, even in its infinitesimal parts. It is compact of souls."

The theme enunciated in his impressive speculation is :

"That each should participate in the perfection of the universe and in a happiness of his own in proportion to his virtue."

The argument that the interests of private men should embrace the interests of the public

underlies the political programme of our day. This theory of concord reconciles the each-form with the all-form, individual action with the common good.

The full range of Hodgskin's thought is expressed in his conception of "the natural science of national wealth". He holds that economic microcosm is governed by the principle of spontaneity. He urges that we should judge the real by the ideal and shadow the ideal in the actual.

Hodgskin is filled with historical optimism. The historical process is to him the chief source of creativeness and change. The irreversible process of history achieves in a slow way what the hot gospellers pursue in vain. He wisely points out that the legal super-structure of an epoch is born of the socio-economic sub-structure. However there is a time-lag between the intellectual development of the society and legislation. One can hardly dissent from his protestation that development is ahead of legislation. He observes :

"With and by time the mind enlarges or expands scientific discoveries and the arts built on them are neither made fortuitously nor by man's design ; they are a regular and progressive development which no conduct of the human understanding could ever bring about. The improvements in knowledge, skill and wisdom that are continually dawning on mankind come quite contrary to our expectation, and very generally in direct opposition to the wishes and will of those who assume to guide society. We must wait patiently, therefore, for the discoveries which are to ennable man, and, in the meantime, lay no hindrance in the way of human development."

Hodgskin looks historicism in the face and yet retains his optimistic mood. He not only admits the relativism of history but proclaims it as a source of justice and freedom.

William Thompson recognises explicitly, a set of economic laws, grounded on the very nature of things. There is a growing conviction in him that the order of society reflects the order of nature. He writes :

“ It is not the explanation of the working of the actual machine but the best mode of producing the effect, for the production of which alone the machine ought to be worked or supported, that we are inquiring after.”

The lofty sincerity of this argument has much positive guidance to offer to a civilization which is faced with this basic problem. His vision of the co-operating communities is also valid and suggestive :

“ But to-day in general society, it is only a few, the rich, that are above the reach of want and permitted to come under the possible influence of these higher motives. In the co-operating communities all are raised above the reach of want ; there all have leisure for intellectual pursuits.

There are no constantly operating sources for distraction to bribe or force all exalted talent or exertion into the eternal career of competition for endless heaps of individual wealth. There will operate most strongly the desire of benefitting all of the family of mankind."

Hodgskin's theory of development and the co-operative utopia of Thompson have a ring of finality. It is obvious that Marxism is a synthesis of these two doctrines.

Professor Hans Kelsen, in his critical analysis of society and nature, points out that there is a strong tendency to uphold a norm as a law of society. Such norms may become ideologies to defend concrete group interests. For, "if these individuals and groups come into power, they represent their interests as norms."

We are seeing how the norms in a totalitarian state are leading society not to greater felicity but to deepening despair. If man should work towards ends, organise his environment and realise his high evolutionary destiny then the link

between nature and society, the true and the good, should not be broken. Man can realise himself in society if that society is free and natural.

To the natural-rights philosophers freedom is the lamp of the wayfarer, a lamp which shines within and ahead of him. The protestant revolutionists call the natural rights philosophy the higher law of God. The Puritan revolutionists of England describe it as the law of nature. The French and American revolutionists frequently refer to the law of nature's God. The spirit of the natural law is succinctly expressed by the French philosopher Volney as :

“ That regular and constant order of facts by which God rules the Universe ; the order which his wisdom presents to the sense and reason of men, to serve them as an equal and common rule of conduct and to guide them, without distinction of race or sect, toward perfection and happiness.”

The natural-rights philosophers have an optimistic faith in the natural goodness of man

and regard liberty as one of his inalienable natural rights. They maintain that the people are the ultimate source of all power and define and limit the powers of the government in fundamental constitutional laws. Jefferson expressly says "Government are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." This principle inspires the liberal-democratic revolution which is opposed to arbitrary and concentrated power.

Later experience shows that only in a federal bond, which is an impregnable political structure, political power can be effectively checked and dispersed. It harmonises the desirable liberties of the individual with the coercive power of the state. The time is urgent to rephrase the Bill of Rights all over the world in order to give a positive content to freedom. The living substance of political freedom is lost in the idealistic generalities of many Bills of Fundamental Rights and Fundamental Duties.

Man can rise to his full stature in a state where the essential rights are not distorted by

powerful interests. Then the economic sovereignty should be vested in the people. This involves the transfer of key points in the economic system from private to public control. The state should own and regulate economic instruments such as banks, transport, coal and power, steel and other mother industries, investments, credit policy and employment. Then only the common man will be the master of the economic environment.

Conscious economic decision is the natural destiny awaiting the modern state. The nature of control depends on the philosophy behind the state. The controls may be employed to suppress ugly inclinations and thereby develop new social excellences. The controls may also be used to destroy the springs of creativeness and freedom. A planning state is centralist. Economic centralism involves abridgement of freedom in the old sense. Prof. Von Hayek defines planning as :

“ The direction of all economic activity according to a single plan, laying down how the resources of the society can be

consciously directed to serve particular ends in a particular way."

Professor Tawney refuses to accept the view that a totalitarian monster always emerges out of a planned order. He points out :

"Planning depends, not upon the labels attached to it, but on the purposes which it is designed to serve, the methods which it employs in order to realise them, and the spirit which determines the choice of both."

The change from an unplanned to a planned society is already in full swing in many states. Individualism has become a wornout cliche. Nations have realised the need for public control of the higher ranges of economic strategy. One need not build a planned state either on Hegelian bluff or Freudian autopsies but on a strategy which achieves maximum economic integration without eclipsing political and civil liberties.

The conflict between those who defend capitalism and those who seek to replace it by socialism is daily growing sharper. One may not

accept Proudhon's dictum that "property is theft". But, one cannot defend a system which compels the workers to hand over every farthing of the dividends to drones. The starved, ailing and ugly life is not a social maladjustment but a national crime. The talk of democratic initiative and freedom is so much complacent nonsense when the just social conditions which can nurture that freedom are absent.

In the modern state capitalism has lost its potency and is still lingering on as an atrophied institution. There is a marked tendency to pursue social goods in a new climate of values. The material for upbuilding the new state must be sought in men's attitudes as well as in institutional instruments. To convert the Almighty state into a social drudge, to develop a group action without a group mind and to change the will-to-grab into a corporative effort we must believe in the inevitability of planning for freedom.

The events of the last decade make us aware that humankind in passing into another servitude artificially imposed by the planners. New orders

have come to mean new myths and new impositions. The high-priests of Nazidom and Stalinism demand prerogatives in the name of their inflated economic notions. None of the votaries of freedom denies the possibility of a higher level of freedom in an age of techniques. But they protest that a hotch-potch of controls takes the people into a deeper black-out.

The sociologists giving an aggressive twist to their argument contend that the planned state will produce some permanent attitudes of mind. This means the establishment of emotional controls. These controls will not be a threat to freedom if the people are allowed to determine the aims and methods of collective action.

Planning has become a subject of diverse study and comment and from these discussions a new side of truth has emerged. It is claimed that the altering of the environment and desires of man with the aid of techniques is the indispensable foundation of planning. At this level the test of freedom is not spontaneity but adjustment.

The force that can mitigate the fierce contrasts of a planned and unplanned society and preserve the truth of personalism in a system of sociological mechanisms is non-violence. The claims of planning can only be accepted in a non-violent society where the plan itself guarantees the essential aspects of freedom.



NON-VIOLENCE



THE essence of a movement of which Mahatma Gandhi is the symbolic figure is not dogmatic but actively mystical. It is the rediscovery of a faith which maintains a vital association between society and nature, organized power and living ethic. In doing so it has shifted emphasis from a purely individual conception of ethics to its dynamic corporate aspect.

The philosophy of Gandhi does not live in a red morocco volume to be detected in a library but it gives a singularly complete ethic which elevates human nature to the demands of civilized life. The time has not yet come for the final assessment of the contribution that the thought

and method of Gandhi have made to transform the material of political action. However, it marks the progress of man from aggressive egocentricity to conscious love, from a blind groping among instincts and phobias to powers of moral control.

The psycho-analysts tell us that the Super-ego is the source of moral control. It is compounded of first, the ego-ideal, what we like or imagine to be, secondly, the outside influences, thirdly, aggression aroused by frustration, and finally, sado-masochism, the strange desire to suffer or inflict pain. There is a perpetual conflict between the Super-ego and the intractable facts of life.

The biological destiny of man is bound up with the necessity of growth. His resources are often no match to his environment. This growth can receive a new impulse if the moral emphasis is shifted from the individual to the state. Whether the state or the individual is the end is a moss-grown controversy. Today it is obvious

that the discipline of each is essential for the creative development of the other.

There is no progress without ethics and no ethics without humanity. The highest ethics is devotion to life and the highest humanity is action illumined by human feeling. What the politicians exalt at the banquet is pseudo-ethics because their every act denies life. The fatal weakness of modern thought is the failure to see the link between the ethic of man and the ethic of society.

In the changing intellectual and social setting of our period we notice a superficial rationalism aligning itself with forces which give no place for ethic. Naturally it fails to conceive progress as the subjection of the world to the power of a single ethic. Say what one will, ethic is an inescapable element in progress. Stated summarily, progress is not a variety of ethic but ethic itself. The complete ethic is formed of the self-perfecting of man and society.

Dr. Needham and Dr. Flugel display a solid confidence in the moralization of the

community life. They indicate the practical urgency of subordinating the state to the Super-ego. A fellowship in suffering, in effort and in faith is created when there is a limitation of the egoism of states and individuals. In the words of Sigmund Freud :

“ Although in our ignorance of the individual processes of societal formation we do not claim any great significance for our assertion, we might nevertheless say that the overcoming of nationalism, that macroscopic repetition of narcissism, and the building of higher social units in the form of confederations of states, is the future task of Eros.”

The shattering fact is that in the race of life physics and death have a long start over ethic and life-affirmation. In this uncertain world, a world in which the ethical-will-to-progress lies deep in the dust, Gandhi, the powerful speculative thinker, has placed man and society on a cosmic foundation. His doctrine of non-violence

is refashioning a part of the human race in accordance with ideals which are rooted in the spirit. Gandhi has not arrived a wink too soon on the stage of history to deepen its faith in ethical progress.

The thought of Gandhi by defining civilization as devotion to life has exercised a stimulating and fruitful influence upon the evolutionary process. In the deliberate nihilism of the war-lords and the cheap political cynicism of the imperialists we see the denial of life and values. Gandhi does not simply swear by the eternal truths of life but has made millions to perceive the eternal in their own day and hour.

The process of change is fully understood by him when he says that nations are thrown out of the process when they pursue an object which lies outside ethics. This moral approach has brought about a profound political revolution the full effects of which are not yet visible.

Some anthropologists who apply evolutionary ideas in the realm of history reveal intellectual tactics rather than a synoptic vision. Their

point of view about war and politics is more totalitarian than humanistic. Prof. E. A. Hooton and Sir Arthur Keith regard the South East Asiatics who are 'timid, kindly and peaceful' as 'escapists and not as representative samples of original mankind'.

It is a notable misfortune that the whole tribe of anthropologists, in a somewhat crude fashion, is blaring out the widespread superstition that those who sacrifice themselves on the altar of civilization are evolutionary failures. Sir Arthur Keith has published his patriotic researches in the realm of innuendo under a misleading title "Essays on Human Evolution". It is not an essay but recrimination. To this trivial-minded anthropologist man's search for absolute verities is evolutionary decay. His distinctive originality is reflected in two sentences :

" War is a way of forcing the pace of evolution ; here, among the Hindus, war is excluded. But to a certain degree evolution is also excluded."

Then again,

" I hold that, if mankind is to be vigorous in mind and progressive in spirit, its division into nation and races must be maintained."

It is a meaningless and stupid jargon of anthropology to say that Indians are less evolutionary. We have seen how nations bring disaster on themselves and the world when their power inflates beyond their moral resources. Only in the ethic of reverence for life lies the clue to man's success in history. The anthropologists will make fools of themselves if they persist in seeing man's evolutionary destiny in the irrational and the catastrophic.

Gandhi's case for non-violence is based on the inalienable moral responsibility of man to use his power to preserve and enhance all manifestations of life. Obviously, this moral ideal is the antidote to the totalitarian poison. Gandhi holds that a harmonious society will result automatically from the pursuit of the law of love. So long as man is recognisably man and his ideals ar

something much better than idle tears he can perceive that values like truth and love are unquestionably good. The pulse of love beats very audibly in these lines of Gandhi :

“ I have found that life persists in the midst of destruction and, therefore, there must be a higher law than that of destruction. Only under that law would a well-ordered society be intelligible and life worth living. And if that is the law of life, we have to work it out in daily life. Wherever there are jars, wherever you are confronted with an opponent, conquer him with love. In this crude manner, I have worked it out in my life. That does not mean that all my difficulties are solved. Only I have found that this law of love has answered as the law of destruction has never done.”

The thought of Gandhi inspires man to aim at something higher than the biological destiny of reproduction and survival. It seeks the improvement of the human type and a balanced

expression of the community. It has given man his full dignity, his full creativeness. While the other mass philosophies of our age have brought about a denial and destruction of man, Gandhism is a revolt against these anti-humanistic tendencies.

Gandhi stands firm in his conviction that only a creed which inspires love and self-giving heralds a path which would free man from the anarchy of passions and the brutalization of life. He is aware that only an active self-perfected ethic can precipitate a situation in which freedom turns out to be the child of necessity. The world is already witnessing the liberating power of non-violence. By keeping millions within the confines of truth and love and by exposing the hollow unreality of senseless violence, Gandhism has achieved an illumination of freedom from within. Non-violence is not only the source of Indian freedom but the source of the freedom of the human race. To win freedom through non-violence is to win eternal freedom, a freedom which is not poisoned at its source.

The life of the modern is a 'life that has lost heart'. We shall misunderstand its essential tragedy if we ignore the far-reaching implications of the atomic weapon. The conversion of nature into new instruments of terror marks the dehumanization of man and the human spirit. It also hastens the defeat and annihilation of values revealed as love and liberty. The separation of man from nature denies him the warm throb of life. The coming man by entering into a new metallic atmosphere and a system of broad coercions will abridge his personality.

Gandhi points the way to light through the chasms of history. The atomic weapon is a challenge to the hidden power of the soul to reveal itself. The faith of Gandhi, which is at once tragic and optimistic, which links the destiny of man with the fate of the world, which has made the human soul conscious of the momentous moral issues can offer a solution to the inherent tragedy of the atom bomb.

Our age is beset with new uncertainties. One ghastly uncertainty is whether man is the

paragon of animals or the slave of robot? Robotism has produced chaos in the external realm and in the soul as well. Enough to say that it has threatened man's proper relation to the state and the cosmos.

Nature is absolutely beautiful because all harmony, integrity and brightness proceed from it. The beauty of man is a similitude of the natural beauty. Robotism creates an externalised society and destroys the light and splendour of nature and spirit. It blasts the very proof of man's immortality, a craving for everything beyond.

At a time when the cold winds of materialism are threatening the spiritual essence in nature and man, Gandhism is proclaiming truths which cleave the earth and sky and unite the polarized forces in a certain spiritual fullness. It has set before us an image which lies beyond freedom—the sovereign dignity and power of the soul. This treasure of light he has discovered for humanity by the blood of Satyagrahis—the seekers after value.

The Mahatma has brought ethic to the plane where it belongs. He sees the world not only as patterns of phenomena but also as the source of truth-value. By seeking truth in empirical terms he has come to a proper understanding of ethics and scientific progress. Either we have outgrown ethics or we are not yet moved by a profound ethical sentiment.

Gandhi's principal finding is that man will drop ethics only to his impoverishment. He is not a cloistered mystic. Mysticism increases in him the possibility of human affection. The other directors of souls show an inhuman coldness. In the case of Gandhi, every vision inspires a new task. He looks to God for light and comes down to the masses inspired by faith, love and truth. He rightly points out that the meaning and development of life are common quests both to the scientist and the moralist. Thus he has eased the tension that exists between science and religion.

The distinction between the robot man and the ethical man has caused the sickness of the

world. It has also destroyed the possibility of a world-view. This split in the consciousness of the world has fixed a gulf between moral consciousness and the triumphs of materialism. It must be remembered that great men of science like Newton, Faraday, Descartes, Galvani, Mariotte, Millikan, Mendel and Einstein have recognised the power of religion to illuminate the ultimate mysteries. Therefore, though science and religion are separate disciplines yet the repudiation of moral values will reduce continents into ashes.

It is in this perspective that we should visualize the ethical destiny of India. Gandhi has created a tradition of national service. The extension of the same ideal can bind together the myriad peoples and provide a hard core of reality to the ambitious conception of world federation. It can also reconcile the religious impulse with the aspiration of techniques and thus sweeten and ennable world life.

Gandhi has taught us that the height of politics is not the evocation of power but a

master word that answers a certain shade of emotion and sympathy. The word that fights for a more human world, for a spiritual rebirth of the masses is the universal-will-to-live. It dispels the clouds of cynicism hanging over the march of man and proclaims the look and tune of life in majestic terms.

In our feverish age the war-lords bellow vulgarity, murder and alienations. These new barbarians have laid their faithless hands on the delicate springs of morality. They have succeeded for a while in defrauding the inescapable law of love.

As totalitarianism is bred up on science, it is indeed the scientist who is playing the role of the executioner. He has ceased to be the custodian of ideals and is actuated by baseness and cowardice. The ultimate guarantee for civilized living lies in solving the antithesis between the ethical and the scientific.

History shows how there are certain immutable standards about individual, social and national ethics which cannot be invalidated by

any tyrant. When man develops an expressed character, life becomes conquest, attainment and freedom. Then only the identity between the inward and outward, the mystical and mechanical, personality and history is established. Society becomes free and also human. Man bears within him the image of the world and the world draws its strength from the inward relation to man.

Behind these historic truths and ideals stands the most humane of rebels, Mahatma Gandhi, with creative inspiration and fire. It is difficult to name a more civilizing influence than his creed of Ahimsa, which enables man to swim with the evolutionary stream and achieve an inner moral perfection. Will an age of robots endure a new prophetic spirit, a vision which lies beyond freedom?

We should turn to history for a responsible answer to this question. Machiavelli seeks guide for action in pure power, Rousseau in pure reason, and Gandhi in pure love. Machiavelli develops the concept of power and makes it the true foundation of politics. He declares that the

prince must learn "to be not good". His autonomy of politics is grounded on a bitter historical pessimism.

To-day the totalitarian tyrant chats with the shade of Machiavelli. In his new setting he has a wish still fouler than the Florentine thinker. He exalts the cult of naked power against all other ways of thinking. He substitutes liquidation for love, clenched mind for reason.

Rousseau's urgent plea for making reality one with reason is marred by showiness. However his idea of the sovereignty of the people becomes the flag of the century. Gandhi has gone higher than Rousseau by resolving the conflict between political reality and moral spirit. He is bent on making both man and the state to live with and thrive on a living ethic, the law of love. He writes :

"Having flung aside the sword, there is nothing except the cup of love which I can offer to those who oppose me. It is by offering that cup that I expect to draw them close to me. I cannot think

of permanent enmity between man and man, and believing as I do in the theory of rebirth, I live in the hope that, if not in this birth, in some other birth, I shall be able to hug all humanity in friendly embrace".

We are only too well aware how the cult of power has created the new order of darkness. It has converted nations into a dwelling for the dead in heart. What is involved in the present cirsis is the survival of the aspiring human spirit. The scheming of slave-makers against the human ideal can be defeated when man accepts the law of love as a working hypothesis. Simple as this may sound, it represents a spiritual revolution which creates a society where dehumanizing tendencies find no soil to seed.

The ethic of Gandhi which cultivates a positivism of life is knocking at the door of a tormented humanity. It must be welcomed by it. The ethical ideal should shape the new politics. Ahimsa should become a concept of world life.

OUR HERITAGE OF FREEDOM



HE conflict between the democratic tradition and the totalitarian lure has now become very deep and subtle. The apologists of democracy have a persistent desire to show that the total philosophy is wicked, while the totalitarian spokesmen scornfully call democracy a diseased corpse. Some of the thinkers who have offered a revaluation of these concepts state that the Saviour state is a pendulum swing reaction to the democratic ideal. This contrast is singularly false. Democracy has always cockered up its heart with sham sentimentality. The darling sin of totalitarianism is that it denies man his precious moments of moods and reverie. And

precisely in the realm of human nature and destiny both the doctrines have failed.

The chief function of a political doctrine is to enable men to harness the intellectual, emotional and material forces for the achievement of purposes. It should raise the level of reflective activity and so extend the range of purposes. The falsification of life in the modern state is the falsification of the reference of purposes to freedom. The failure to refer all state activity to freedom is a refusal to refer it to reality. Freedom unfolding itself in consciousness and in activity is the redemption of man and the world.

With democracy reflection increases. With totalitarianism reflection is destroyed. An unreflective life is an unfree life. Full-blooded freedom is rooted in the full reflective activity of the self. As the self enters into relations with other selves, a free society is composed of persons of heightened consciousness..

Since freedom can exist within a life that is reflective, it has a relation to the rightness or

wrongness of reflection. Man's capacity for less freedom or more freedom is conditioned by his spurious or deepened reflection.

The idea of freedom is a subjective activity of the self. The method of freedom is its reference to objective reality. The first is what freedom as a thought is about. The second is the working out of this idea in a world of mutual relations. Action without a framework of reference is blind. An intellectual conception without a significant relation to everyday experience is sterile. Freedom is an end in itself if it is born in reflection and relates itself to the facts of life. Freedom enchanting when it is born in thought, nurtured in feeling and charged with purpose. This suggests that freedom cannot be revalued by a formula. When a new intuition finds an expression in an equally new experience freedom is renewed.

No people ever lived in fuller freedom, in fuller sunlight than our great ancients. Every decision of their life was governed by natural impulse, self-knowledge and harmony. They

lived in a free and ideal society, a society in which man found his place in a larger natural setting, a society which emphasised moral preference and endeavour.

Their idea of God-manhood is at once lofty and enlightening. Purity and dignity enter into their minds because they believe in man's interaction with God. According to sage Yagnavalkya, man is an integral part of the natural flux, of the supreme God. He chastises those who adore God as an essence separated from man.

The ethical thinkers maintain that the field of freedom is the field of religion and the field of religion is the experience of God in one's self.

The *Svetasvatara Upanishad* urges man to desire above all things freedom from illusion. It says that man can know the true nature of God when he is free from the toils of illusion. A taint of ugliness is present in the earthly creations of God and He alone is absolutely beautiful. The free man sees God as his soul just as he sees an article in light which is suffused in the glare.

The *Mundakopanishad* conjures up before us the idea of identity in living colours. To our age of shifting hopes and doubts, an age in which the tragedy of the inner life of man is complete, the Upanishads offer a peculiar and unique message. The *Mundakopanishad* has a nameless grace when it proclaims a unity which transcends the opposition of the subject and object. It says that when the rivers merge into the ocean we cannot differentiate between the streams and the ocean. Similarly, when the free man merges into God he loses his separate identity.

Yamadharma-raja tells his pupil Nachiketas, in stern words, that plutocrats cannot conceive the universal idea. He declares that those who seek protection in this world for themselves alone would come again and again into his realm for suffering. We are witnessing how the plutocrats are the hangmen of freedom and security. Yama's utterance expresses an existential truth. It is also the central problem of mankind.

In our ancient polity a certain moral integration is realised. Though there is a demand of different impulses and interests, yet the society was bound together by a spiritual kinship. In the *Latopanishad* the philosophy of non-violence is beautifully expounded. It gives the following illustration. A person who beats another exclaims "I have beaten him" and feels happy. The aggrieved says "I am beaten by him" and suffers. In the light of true knowledge both these conceptions are false. For, only the body beats another body. No one can injure the soul which is common for all created life. Then, how can there be the difference of subject and object in one soul.

The *Isavasya Upanishad* expressly says that world-view is superior to the single-pointedness of the Yogi.

The Upanishadic thought gives a hierarchy of values. It recognises the validity of man's higher needs and provides a basis for the daily renewal of his life. It deepens and humanizes personality. In the *Goutama Dharma Sutra* the

eight essential attributes of man are stated. They are compassion for all living creatures, endurance of pain or pleasure, being free from envy, purity of mind and body, performing duties with ease, seeing good even in suffering, being magnanimous and freedom from extreme cravings.

Life demands freedom and freedom demands knowledge. The structure of the life of knowledge is given in the Yogavasistha. The *Sapthagnanabhumi* theory envisages knowledge as a seven-storeyed mansion ; ground floor, urge for values, second, philosophical study, third, other-worldliness, fourth, God-intoxication, fifth, supreme detachment, sixth, soul-reality and seventh, naturalness.

When freedom is not illumined by knowledge, there is uncontrolled desire and unreflective impulse, moral anarchy and pure barbarism. Only a new movement of the mind can achieve a positive conquest of the facts of life and history.

In our own time there is a disastrous narrowing of the field of experience in freedom.

The modern thinkers show a constant concern for achievements in a closed and finite world. Our ancient philosophers assail the beliefs and habits which are opposed to the idealization of change as progress, vision which makes reason flexible and disciplines which chasten freedom into the everlasting. Their thought-life moved and had its being in freedom. Freedom to them was a state of mind which brought the whole field of thought, emotion and effort under one rubric, treating the world of things and of persons as one and unique. Few persons would be rash enough to deny the historical truth that our heritage originates in and reflects freedom.

FREEDOM : A PROCESS.



O-DAY we see intelligence abdicating in the face of organised purges and decision abdicating in the face of group fanaticisms. The result is the choice of ends which is the sum and essence of freedom is denied in the human community.

We are driven to ask what the content of freedom can be in an age of withering cynicisms and broad coercions. In the inter-war years there was a ground for despair. Now there is no reasonable ground for hope. If one lets his thoughts a sober colouring he finds that in a democracy the leaders do not lead. There is also a natural flabbiness in the average citizen which makes him prefer gangsterdom to freedom.

We may venture the opinion that in a democracy man can serenely move forward in his understanding of life is a myth which has ceased to be mythical. In a world in which sensory experience is the only yardstick man is found on the level of the depraved and the futile. His mental confusion and destruction of values are reflected in Hemingway's false æsthetic pose :

"A great killer must love to kill ; unless he feels it is the best thing he can do, unless he is conscious of its dignity and feels that it is its own reward, he will be incapable of the abnegation that is necessary in real killing. He must have a spiritual enjoyment at the moment of killing."

Because the western man has no inner life, he reacts to any stimuli. The dedicated great can fix him in a mood of negation. While he continues to draw the breath of life he kills and kills savagely. The Saviour state has laid on him its throttling hand. It tells him that the

ideals of truth, of justice and of hope are mere notional forms. But, freedom is in alliance with the eager anticipation of life and not with bankruptcy in ideals. Then, freedom lives in a flaming affirmation of life.

We are told that ours is the era of the common man. Max Scheler calls it the "epoch of equalization". (*Zeitalter des Ausgleichts*). These phrases indicate a sympathetic vision of the world. The human aspiration, which is for ever blasted and for ever renewed, speaks in them. Freedom becomes positive in spirit when the conditions of a full life are assured for all.

The belief is shared by many thinkers that at the long end of this agony man has emerged with the broad human touch. This aspect is beautifully portrayed by Steinbeck when he says that a man might be a Nazi and yet be human. Thus far we have seen man's failure to sustain and quicken ideals. This picture has a reverse side also. This means man will soon see and feel the power of values. Freedom gains in its sweep and depth as man brings more reflection to life.

Theorists in whom the sense of human relations is strong call the nation-state a hulking brute. Its sadistic urges have infected the world with a mass sickness. A people who tolerate its frauds and villanies are not in a normal frame of mind. However, a re-assuring spectacle in our tortured history is that man has felt the need to combine. If this impulse runs a course of lucky events and ends in supra-national unions then men and nations will rise to a new stature. The future of freedom lies in multi-national federations between distinct political systems.

We see on the stage of history a sharp conflict between opposed trends of thoughts and concrete impulses. As men are held fast in its grip, they are thrown back upon their true self. Their motivation becomes no longer controllable and calculable. They become the unconscious agents of the historical process. They will uphold the dignity of the human spirit, and envisage the vision of freedom. Then a world bereft of certitudes and assurances will have new values to blossom forth in harmony.

Freedom in an Age of Revolution



In epochs of disaster people always see the end of the human story. The pessimistic fate they postulate for civilization is due to a schism in the soul. Their unity of emotions and judgments is torn by clashing human purposes. This inner dividedness takes the ostensible form of a conflict of ideologies. The Nazi Soviet Pact of 1939 and the Tory and totalitarian alliance furnish the clue to the schisms and caprices, the ambitions and tempers of our century. The Tory press might thrill to the heroism of the Red Army and forget for a moment its insular and imperial preoccupations. But the fact remains that World War II is a disruption caused by the

contradictions of capitalism and the cynicism of dictators. It is strange, but it is invincibly true, that the compulsion of events forced the democracies to surrender their supreme inheritance as the price of some strategic gain.

The malaise in democracy is that it shuts the gates against the social forces pressing on it for acceptance. Lacking this social content, there is nothing in it to signify freshness and adventure or the sense of awe. In this world revolution democracy has lost its inner lustre. Its toleration and practice of slavery and race prejudice constitute an abuse, neglect and betrayal of its ageless ideal. A by-product of the failure of creative spirit is a lack of political responsibility. Democracy has failed to make its ideal issue in conduct.

The tasks before democracy are four : first, to renew the moral basis of liberty, secondly, to control the economic processes while preserving liberty, thirdly, to acknowledge human personality as the supreme value, and fourthly, to work for universal emancipation and uplifting.

The destined goal of the present world revolution is the liberation of man from injustice and slavery, falsehood and wrong. In this upheaval the revolutionist is no distinct person. For, every plain man is a potential rebel. He becomes receptive of what the heralds of the age proclaim. As the spring of his thought and action is coiled in his heart, he takes his stand beneath the flag of personalism. He seeks emancipation from the Almighty state, false sanctities and the impersonal rule of money. This elemental surge is personalistic and, therefore, it seeks no scapegoats, no Quislings. It reaches to and creates the living spirit of politics. Revolution means a major upset, a rupture in the existing social order. Most revolutions in history have raised democratic slogans.

In a revolutionary period all vestiges of democracy are abrogated. As passion mounts up, conscience is darkened and thirst for blood becomes the only reality. The irrational forces are unleashed to achieve rational ends. Looking

into the centuries one may safely establish his tribute to revolutionaries of spiritual vision.

A point that is often overlooked is that in a revolutionary period people get an emotional kick out of fear. The fear impulse erects guillotines, gives rein to crude urges nad destroys personal dignity. However, in a spiritual or personalistic revolution the adherents always see moral values in the cosmic pattern. They grow in suffering, in grace and not in ragged dialectic, debris of ideologies. They listen to the beat of moral wings and the truths of life offer them a perennial enticement. In all their moods, from contemplation to tumult, their eyes are steadily fixed on the conquest of fear. Thus a personalistic revolutionary renews a note that is lost in the struggle for emancipation.

Some thinkers have reached the verdict that it is naive to judge revolutions by moral standards. They contend that though a revolution is a revolt of the mad forces yet it always establishes a rational future. This view ignores the fact that modern revolutions are planned by

those who condition mass behaviour in specific directions.

A contemporary revolution is a relentless march of the party-controlled masses. It is inconceivable that a full picture of human life and values would emerge out of their group fanaticisms and insane myths.

The present disillusion and misery, transfer of populations and disruption of families, loss of occupations and deepening anxiety have made millions question the validity of murder-machines and the class dynamics of government. They have realised that the evil that festered into a world catastrophe is the evil born of smothered truth and spiritual sloth.

A contemporary thinker rightly points out that this war should be thought to the finish. It means this war is a battle for values, for emancipation and for the preservation of common human impulse. It is puzzling to see that the statesmen have diffidently risen to this challenge of the spirit. They may be accused, not unjustly, of having failed to build the future under the

influence of an ideal. Their blue-prints will have a compulsive vigour if they are an idealization of the issues that have their natural home in men's heart and mind. What the whole thing boils down to is the need of a positive faith.

A solution to the chaos of our time must, therefore, be found in a faith which liberates man from government by armed cliche. It should give man and the community fresh feelings, new insights. This new faith, whether mystical or materialistic, spontaneous or enforced, concrete or cobweb, should guarantee unforced choice. The choice of ends is the potent influence on the side of freedom. It sets the stream of person-alistic consciousness.

A peace plan which rules out all passionate ideals will end in ruling out peace itself from the international society. Its immediate aim should be a governmental mechanism which resists force and guarantees spontaneity. Neither the Anglo-Saxon heritage of a democratic way of life nor the social salvation promised by the total philosophies are of value at this vital moment in

history. To a certain extent both these outlooks have a bearing on our political habits and quality of life. But the temper of these ideologies do not stand for the revolution of man. Today the democrats have begun to think that man is coercible. We are already familiar with the picture of man's status in a closed or totalitarian state.

Our all-subversive age may soon throw up a magnificent political faith—a federal, non-violent and personalistic ideology. A generation that has cut its teeth on bullets has developed a vast hunger for a creed which promises the vigour and majesty of the spirit. Personalism makes the unwanted, truncated people to participate in the heroic venture of creating a new political order. Without this fundamental the myriad ideas, loyalties and interests cannot find a focus and desperate remedies will be sought in war or gang-rule.

For another twenty years, the political forces in the world may move, or be forced to move, nearer to the personalist ideal. This creed alone

extends in a new and universal direction the content of freedom. To the question whether the spokesmen of democracy have vitalized our conception of freedom and placed it in a new perspective one must reply, firmly and regretfully, that they are swinging along the way to unfreedoms. There is a fatal tendency in them to allow economics to identify itself with what is concerned with ends. How can democracy liberate men from determinism if it searches for its spring of action in techniques and not in freedom? The concept of freedom which held millions in thrall, at all times and in all moods, has ceased to enchant the western democrats. The world they envisage is an order which moves farther away from freedom for stability's sake.

If we look forward to a splendid and fateful moment in history it is an adventure which raises the world to the richest expression of freedom. Unfortunately, the ideologists are unleashing some vicious forces which would befoul the cherished ideal of liberty. They forget that it is the creed which places personality above society

that becomes the burning glass which catches alight the sacred fires of liberty.

An age in which freedom feeds every thought, every passion and illuminates the whole scene of life will save man from becoming the sport of tyrants. Now the social techniques have placed democracies and the totalitarian states in the same boat. We see the societies we knew drifting away from freedom to conformity. Their patterns for a more abundant life have only menaced the human fabric. In these states the highest faith in human rights and human dignity is decaying into dust.

However, there is a spiritual quality in man which is unquenched by deterministic creeds. It proclaims his independence in relation to the society and the state. It is grounded on creativity, freedom and existential truths. It fills his self with universal content and makes the structure of his consciousness to rebel against all lures of slavery. His acceptance of the personalist faith is a further step in the development of universal freedom. The personalistic way has a

historic inevitability. It can weld the warring peoples into a symbol of humanity.

A universal political order made up of personalities will enable men to rise superior to convulsions and learn the virtue of courageous living. The ultimate deliverance of man is assured in a mental state where steadfastness triumphs over fear, decencies over negations and the fine points of life over the crude brawlings of aggression. Then only millions can set their courage and faith against robotism.

Instead of bewailing the disintegration of his times man should renew his faith in the truth of personalism. Only a forward movement of man along the path of personalistic values can defeat the inhuman plotters. This faith chosen from within will give man every pulse of energy, every spark of freedom.

History is no longer freedom and it is questioning the very bases of freedom. A deadlock is reached in the centuried relationship between history and freedom. The solution lies in a new view of history and a new pattern of freedom.

What can be conceded to the political dictators in this situation is that they have forced both history and freedom to renew themselves on a new foundation. In broad terms the coming politics will witness a conflict between a view that is personal, libertarian and humanistic and the one that is collective, authoritarian and barbarous. In this conflict of moralities, attitudes and traditions freedom will emerge as the fundamental concept of our time.

Freedom ceases to be a possession when it is not sustained by the energies of the people. Twice in a quarter of a century it has eluded the grasp of planners. They have insufficiently realised that freedom and equality are the tributaries of a single river, not catchwords but concrete. They must accept the truth that inequality of condition is not inequality of essence. It is not natural inequalities but social inequalities that outrage the value and dignity of man. How can man realise the fullness of life when the highest social conditions are closed to him. Therefore, the need is urgent to restate

freedom in positive terms as a condition which gives equal opportunities to man to bring his gifts to fruit.

Hitherto the lives of millions were poised in battle. The struggle of historical forces has changed its direction. Men are seeking a purpose which the totalitarian levellers had repudiated. The dictators and imperialists had created a desert-thirst for human blood and the world is recovering from this agony of reasonless chaos.

The tragic spectacle has moved millions to pity and fear, to awareness and sorrow. They see the resurgence of faith ; faith that human chaos brings a new insight for living. Out of this tragic waste the concept world-view is emerging as the song of the opening epoch. Across the bridge of six thousand years man can listen to its message. It fuses love and misery into a sublime atonement and brings not only sweetness but also sense into life. It makes life the playground of feeling and intuition, a bright and never ending procession. When its circle sweeps over continents the servility and horror

of an epoch will end in a new manhood and a vitalized tradition. What greater assurance time can hold for men, whose minds are filled with memories of bombs and sirens, and who have suffered torment of body, heart and mind, than an existence rooted in the verities of life.

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